

THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

DEVOTED TO THE ENLARGEMENT AND PERFECTION OF HOME.

VOL. II.—NO. 33.

ONEIDA, N. Y., AUGUST 16, 1877.

\$2.00 per year in Advance.
Single copies Five Cents.

AMERICAN SOCIALIST. Published every Thursday.

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SUBSCRIPTION PRICE.

One Year, \$2.00; Six Months, \$1.00.
Postage Free to Subscribers in the United States.
One Year to England, France, or Germany, postage included, \$3.00.

The paper will be sent to Clergymen at half price.
Messrs. Trubner & Company, Booksellers, 57 & 59 Ludgate Hill, London, England, are our Agents.
Subscribers are specially requested to plainly write their names and post-office address, including town, county and State.

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Single insertion, ten cents per line, Nonpareil scale; eight words making a line, and twelve lines an inch. Reduction for subsequent insertions. Send for special rates.

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"The American Socialist, Oneida, N. Y."

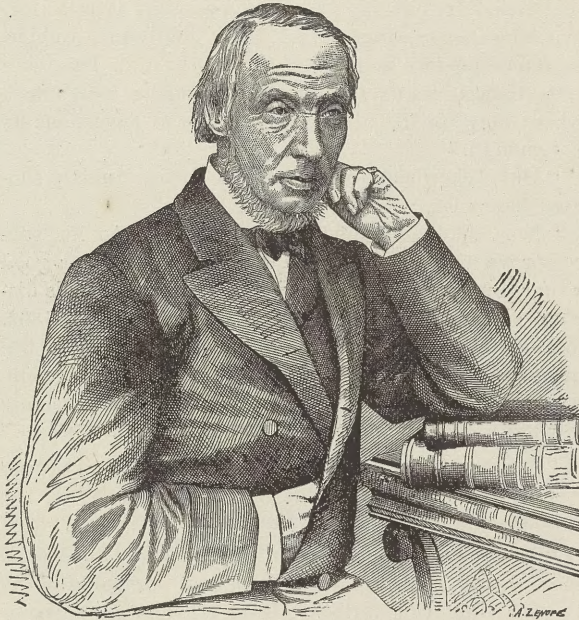
A COUNTER ATTRACTION.

"GIVE the poor, good sweet homes, wholesome food, and, during their hours of recreation, refining amusements, and scores of the 'Red Lions,' the 'Crowns,' and the 'Blue Boars' will rot over the publicans' doorways."

—English Paper.

That rings the key-note of a true and permanent temperance reform. Make a workingman's home more attractive than the dram-shop and you preach a far more effective sermon against tavern-haunting than ever did Murphy or Gough or Dio Lewis. Not entirely for his evening toddy does a laboring man drift around to the "saloon" after his day's work is done. He finds there congenial companions, warmth and comfort. He escapes, perhaps, the noise and discomforts of a small room with a large family. Perhaps, too, he finds added to the liquor attractions of the place, music, dancing, and the alluring adornments with which art enchants the eye long accustomed to bare walls and repelling cheerlessness. All these things warm the senses, excite the imagination, and for a time lift the man out of his daily routine of dull drudgery. In a word, the place and the society attract, as well as the drink. And when we find such attractions on the one side, with the repelling discomforts of the poor man's home upon the other, can we wonder that temperance reforms are so short-lived? The great mass of workingmen, who have but little religion to strengthen their moral purposes, readily drift in the direction of the greatest attraction, and it remains to be seen whether a counter attraction can be made strong enough to successfully meet and overcome that of the saloon. "The dram-shop is the poor man's club." Can we supply its place by any thing better? Can we not turn every man's home into a "club," with all its social and artistic attractions?

It is evident that the social advantages which men crave when they leave their homes and fall into the corrupting influences of the liquor shops, can not be had in the poverty and isolation which now exist. But if a system of enlarged, Unitary Homes could be established, not only could good society, music, pictures and pleasant rooms be had by these same poor people, but also many educational advantages which are now hopelessly out of reach. And the women and children could enjoy them as well as the men. When the laboring classes are convinced that in coöperative life lies their hope of social advancement, liquor and tobacco will cease to ensnare them and rob them of their hard earnings. Would not the money now spent for liquors and tobacco establish such Unitary Homes for all? G. E. C.



PORTRAIT OF ROBERT DALE OWEN.

A STRONG family resemblance will be observed between the above portrait and that of ROBERT OWEN which we published last week, notwithstanding the difference of position and of the scale to which they are drawn. Judged from the standpoint of old Greek art or of female taste generally, they would not be called strictly handsome men, although they were strong characters who made their mark on the world. Both father and son were well advanced in years when their portraits were taken.

ROBERT DALE OWEN was born in Glasgow, Scotland, Nov. 7, 1801, and died at his summer residence on Lake George, N. Y., June 24, of the present year. He was the eldest son of Robert Owen, and was equally well-known as a Social reformer and a Spiritualist. He had the same courage to act on his convictions, regardless of public opinion, which made his father so remarkable a man. For a brief yet tolerably complete sketch of his life, and a list of his writings, the reader is referred to the AMERICAN SOCIALIST for July 5th, page 209.

THE TRUE SPIRIT.

At such a time as the present, when the relations of the rich and poor, the employer and employed, are forced upon the attention of all thinking persons, it is natural that remedies for existing difficulties should be multiplied. Most of them will be well-intentioned; many of them will have a basis of wisdom; a few of them, if carried out in the spirit of their originators, would remove many evils, if they did not practically solve the great question. But how to insure this—the carrying out of measures in the true spirit—is after all the difficulty of difficulties. Laws may be enacted restraining the rich and encouraging the poor; but they will be evaded just as the laws for restraining the sale of intoxicating liquors are evaded. The only way to make men temperate is to abolish the appetite for liquor, and the only way to avoid "strikes" on the one hand, and the evils of monopoly on the other, is to abolish their cause, which lies back of all external arrangements. Even if Communism could be made universal, while selfishness remains a dominant principle inequalities would still manifest themselves in one way and another, and engender evils similar to those which now curse society. The elder Owen was all wrong in his doctrine that men's characters are determined by their surroundings; and Fourier was all wrong in his doctrine that the human passions will correct their own faults if you only bring a sufficient number of people together in association; and Elder Evans is right when he says, "the poorest laborer is but an unsuccessful

capitalist—they are one in heart, spirit and principle." Both are controlled by selfishness, and only as both come under the control of the opposite principle can their relations approach the true standard. Christ, the most radical and most wise of the world's social leaders, laid out his main efforts on teaching men the absolute necessity of a change in their spiritual conditions; and those who would secure a radical cure of the evils which at present so afflict society will follow his example. Coöperation, Association, Communism, all involve improved social conditions, for which we may well labor; but their advantages can only be realized in proportion as "new wine" is put into the "new bottles;" and the "new wine" is the new spirit which seeks not its own, but lives for others and for God.

THE WASTE OF COMPETITION.

THE extracts from the address of E. V. Neale, Esq., before the Lancashire Coöperative Societies, reproduced in the last No. of the AMERICAN SOCIALIST, are very instructive. They show that enormous waste is going on all around us which might be obviated by coöperation. Taking twenty-two trades connected with the distribution of food, clothing and other common things, he finds that there are two hundred and fifty-one existing shops, on the average of all these trades, for every one hundred needed, and in particular cases the discrepancy is very much greater. For instance he finds that there are nearly eight times as many hotels as are required! Mr. Neale's statistics are derived from London alone, but similar ones might be obtained from all the large cities; and, indeed, for that matter almost every village the world over would furnish similar illustrations. How many thousand of villages in the United States have three or four times as many stores, saloons, hotels, and shops of different kinds as are required! Doubtless the extra and unnecessary cost thus imposed upon most villages would support comfortably their poor. We say "imposed," for every village has to pay in one form or another the cost of every establishment within it. If it has three stores where only one is needed, then the rent, taxes, fuel, light, insurance, etc., etc., of the two extra stores must come out of the pockets of the villagers. They would say, and often truly, that with three stores they get their goods at lower prices than they would with only one. But suppose the entire mercantile business of the village were conducted solely in the interests of its citizens, then all competition, all over-charging, all cheating in respect to quality, would disappear, and with them all occasion for several stores where one could do the business as well.

Competition is said to be the soul of trade, but it is a miserable soul, and we ought to get a better one without delay. If it makes trade lively, it produces mammoth evils: huge oppressive monopolies on the one hand, bankruptcy and hand-to-mouth poverty on the other. It increases the necessary cost of every article we eat, drink, and wear. It is a means of enormous waste.

Mr. Neale's object is to show how expensive and wasteful a thing competition is in distribution; but this is only one of three important departments. Its expense and waste display themselves, and often most shockingly, in production and consumption, as well as in distribution. Indeed, a part of Mr. Neale's statistics relate to production. Thus he shows that the boot- and shoe-making shops of London might be reduced from 3,477 to 648 or 436 per cent.; the tailor-shops from 2,679 to 648 or 313 per cent., and so on. But he does not attempt to show what great gain there would be in actual production by this reduction in the number of establishments. He does not refer to the greater advantage which the larger establishments might take of machinery and improved appliances. That there would be very great gain is sufficiently proved by the fact, that where large factories are brought into competition with smaller ones they are pretty sure to "run out" the latter. The large establishments are regarded with disfavor by the common laborers, because they are conducted in the interests of capitalists.

Could the laborers enjoy their advantages as well, they would become universally popular.

The waste of competition in consumption is perhaps greatest of all. Behold it on every side: in dress, equipage, houses, churches, even in our cemeteries—everywhere there is useless expenditure, and therefore waste. Thousands in such a city as New York maintain establishments ten times as costly as they require, simply from motives of competition with their neighbors. This personal rivalry in display is carried to the extreme by our railroad magnates, who build the most sumptuous palace-cars for their individual accommodation. Is it to be wondered at that the men who make them, and make the roads upon which they run, should rebel at the reduction of their wages, when money is thus squandered by their employers before their eyes? And still they would do no better if they were magnates themselves. Competition is the universal enemy. Down with the Great Waster.

THE ZOAR COMMUNITY.

QUESTIONS ANSWERED BY ONE OF ITS MEMBERS.

"When did your Community reach its highest membership?"

"In 1832, when many persons came to us from Germany, including some who refused to emigrate in 1817."

"What is the present number?"

"Two hundred and fifty-four."

"How divided in respect to age, sex and membership?"

"There are fifty-five adult males, seventy-one adult females, and one hundred and twenty-eight children and youth under twenty-one. Of the one hundred and twenty-six adults, seventy-two belong to the second class, and fifty-four to the first class."

"How are these two classes distinguished from each other?"

"The first class includes the probationary members and the children, and all who have not signed the covenant. After the children become of age they can not be received into the second class except on special application, and then only after a year's delay."

"What are the special privileges of the second or higher class?"

"The two classes fare alike in all respects, excepting that only the members of the second class can vote and hold office."

"How does it happen that so many adults still remain in the first class?"

"Some are perfectly satisfied and don't care to enter the higher class. This may in a few cases be owing to the fact, that so long as a person remains in the first class he can withdraw any money he put into the common fund on joining the Community, and use it as he likes; but on joining the second class there is an entire surrender of all property rights. The covenant reads: 'We the subscribers, members of the Society of Separatists of the second class, declare hereby that we give all our property of every kind, not only what we already possess, but what we may hereafter come into possession of by inheritance, gift, or otherwise, real and personal, and all rights, titles and expectations whatever, both for ourselves and our heirs, to the said society forever, to be and remain, not only during our lives, but after our deaths, the exclusive property of the society.'"

"In case a member of the second class secedes, is any part of the money he put in refunded?"

"No property is refunded; his bringing in much or little would not be regarded; but if he made application for something, it would be considered how he had conducted and how valuable his services had been, and a gift made accordingly."

"What is the position of women in your Community? Can they vote and hold office?"

"Our women, married or single, on joining the second class, become full members, and have the right to vote as well as the male members. Our constitution says nothing against their holding office, and in my opinion they could, should they be elected to such position. They generally exercise their right to vote."

"What industries do they pursue other than household?"

"Besides milking, they spade, plant and work the gardens, which you observe are connected with the houses, raising the vegetables required for family use and gratifying their taste for flowers. Those who do not work in the gardens, and are sufficiently healthy and strong, help a little in hay-making, and in harvest-time rake up sheaves for the binders. In the fall they help prepare the flax which they spin in the winter-time. Some, who do not spin, knit stockings, socks, mittens

and gloves, of which we sell large quantities in our store."

"How much hired help have you?"

"Including the families of those who work for us there are in all one hundred and seventy-one persons who subsist upon the wages paid by the Community."

"How many hours do the men work?"

"The able-bodied generally labor from sun up to sun down."

"What regulations have you respecting the distribution of groceries, provisions, etc.?"

"Bread is distributed without limit. Meat (only beef), coffee, sugar, butter, etc., is distributed equally—i. e., to each family according to its number of persons; but we are not very strict in this. If a family is visited by outside friends it generally gets what it asks for. We have never eaten pork. Each family raises about as much poultry as it chooses. If a family has more eggs than it wants it takes them to the storehouse, where they are distributed to those who have none or not enough."

"Did Ackermann, your present leader, directly succeed Bäumeler, your first leader?"

"No. Bäumeler died Aug. 27, 1853. As his successor we unanimously appointed Jacob Sylvan—a good writer, but no speaker. Christian Weebel read his discourses for him. After Sylvan's death, Oct. 13, 1862, Weebel took the spiritual lead; but the majority of the members were not fully satisfied, and in 1871 Ackermann was appointed, he being the oldest Trustee and having labored hard for the society. We desired to honor him."

"What is Ackermann's relation to the three Trustees and Standing Committee of five, which constitutes the central governing power of the Community?"

"Ackermann is still one of the Trustees, but has no more power than the other two, and is responsible to the Standing Committee. He is regarded as a leader by the members in honor, as already mentioned."

"Do you still receive new members? and are your doors still open to applicants?"

"We have accepted new members up to the present time, and I think will keep on doing so; but our doors are only open to applicants of good character."

"On what conditions do you receive new members?"

"We generally pay wages for a year or more to applicants, so that they may have time and opportunity to get acquainted with us and we with them. If the acquaintance proves mutually satisfactory, and they again apply for admission to the Community, they are admitted as probationary members and sign the Articles for the First Class. If during the next year they commend themselves they may make application for admission to the second class, and if there is no good ground of rejection will be admitted; when they give up their property forever. Rich people seldom apply for membership, and we are glad of it. We would rather take poor people, half naked though they may be, provided they have the right character."

"Your Community numbers only about half as many as it did forty-five years ago. You must have had numerous secessions. Have many of the older members left?"

"Only two parties of the older members that I recall. The first party left soon after the Society was established, and consisted of about half-a-dozen men, all married but one—the wives remained with us. In 1841 a grand scheme was planned for the division of the whole property. Many were at first in favor of it, and seven adhered to the plan, and sued for a division. They entirely failed in this. With a single exception they were worthless members. Most of them afterwards repented of their course. One was received back again, and allowed to work for wages. To two others the Community paid a pension of \$8 a month in their old age and destitution. New members frequently leave, and many of the young folks leave as they become of age."

"Does any officer appoint his successor? or are all elected?"

"All officers are elected and by a majority of votes."

"I have understood that each family attends to all its affairs, its cooking, washing, etc., separately?"

"That is the case now; but years ago it was not so. All the persons and families in one house did their work together. The present method leads to separation rather than Communism."

"Please give me a few facts respecting the longevity of your people."

"Our oldest member is ninety-five years and four months old. He is a native of New Hampshire. He lived with the Shakers from 1830 to 1841, since then with us. Our oldest woman is now ninety-three. Both

of these persons still work a little voluntarily; and both are unmarried. Another unmarried woman here is eighty-seven. A male member died last year aged ninety years and two months. Many of our members have reached from seventy-five to eighty years. Our factory foreman is past eighty-six."

"Will you state the advantages which the members consider that they have over ordinary society by reason of their Communism?"

"The advantages are many and great. All distinctions of rich and poor are abolished, which in our opinion is worth a great deal. The members have no care except for their own spiritual culture. Communism provides for the sick, the weak, the unfortunate, all alike, which makes their life comparatively easy and pleasant. In case of great loss by fire or flood or other cause, the burden which would be ruinous to one is easily borne by the many. Charity and genuine love one to another, which are the foundations of true Christianity, can be more readily cultivated and practiced in a Community than in common, isolated society. Finally, a Community is the best place in which to get rid of selfishness, willfulness and bad habits and vices generally; for we are subject to the constant surveillance and reproof of others, which, rightly taken, will go far toward preparing us for the large Community above."

PRIMITIVE COMMUNISM IN RUSSIA.*

II.

RECENT investigations concerning the origin of Peoples raise a strong presumption that all nations have, at some period of their history, possessed village Communities similar to those of Russia. This view is held by Sir Henry Maine; and the French author, M. de Laveleye, in his work, "De la Propriété et de ses Formes Primitives," claims to be able to prove "that these Communities have existed among the most diverse peoples—among the old Germans and in ancient Italy; in Peru and in China; in Mexico and in India; among the Scandinavians and among the Arabs—and that they have everywhere possessed the same characteristics. Thus finding the institution in all climates and among all peoples, we may regard it as a necessary phase in the development of society, and may perceive in it a kind of universal law governing the evolution of all kinds of landed property." If this is correct, which we see no reason to doubt, the only difference between Russia and other nations in this regard is, that she has proved more tenacious of her primitive institutions than they.

Mr. Wallace finds, that intelligent Russians are not willing to admit that the retention of the Communal system places the nation in any way behind the foremost civilization of modern Europe, but quite the contrary. According to "innumerable discourses," which he heard in Russia, the nations of western Europe are on the high road to ruin; for "the natural increase of population, together with the expropriation of the small landholders by the great landed proprietors, has created a dangerous and ever-increasing Proletariat—a great disorganized mass of human beings, without homes, without permanent domicile, without property of any kind, without any stake in the existing institutions." This class of people is increasing, while the means of feeding it is diminishing, and sooner or later a great political upheaval must follow, which will endanger all existing institutions. From these impending disasters "Russia has been saved by the rural Commune—an institution which, in spite of its simplicity and incalculable utility, west-Europeans seem utterly incapable of understanding and appreciating." This shows the value attached to the village Commune by those among whom it has existed for ages. Let us see what are its peculiar advantages.

The Village Commune, says Mr. Wallace, "may be roughly described as a primitive association on a larger scale" than the peasant family described in our previous paper:

"Between these two social units there are many points of analogy. In both there are common interests and common responsibilities. In both there is a principal personage, who is in a certain sense ruler within, and representative as regards the outside world; in one case called Khozain, or Head of the Household, and in the other Starosta, or Village Elder. In both the authority of the ruler is limited; in the one case by the adult members of the family, and in the other by the heads of households. In both there is a certain amount of common property; in the one case the house and nearly all that it contains, and in the other the arable land and pasturage. In both cases there is a certain amount of common responsibility; in the one case for all the debts, and in the other for all the taxes and Communal

*Russia; by D. Mackenzie Wallace: London, 1877.

obligations. And both are protected to a certain extent against the ordinary legal consequences of insolvency, for the family can not be deprived of its house or necessary agricultural implements, and the Commune can not be deprived of its land, by importunate creditors.

"On the other hand, there are many important points of contrast. The Commune is, of course, much larger than the family, and the mutual relations of its members are by no means so closely interwoven. The members of a family all farm together, and those of them who earn money from other sources are expected to put their savings into the common purse; whilst the households composing a Commune farm independently, and pay into the common treasury only a certain fixed sum."

A general distinction between the village and family Community would seem to be that the Communism of the former embraces landed property, or real estate, as we term it, while the family Commune involves a Communism of personal property, resulting within its own organization in a more absolute Communism than the village organization. Taking the two together, in localities where the family Commune still remains, the result reached would be a very fair system of Communism; the margin left for private ownership being so small as to be of no very great account.

Comparing the village Commune with the village system in England, Mr. Wallace finds that the Russian villager is so organized with his fellows that he does not have the same liberty of isolation as the Englishman. So long as the English villager pays his taxes, and does not commit any grave breach of the peace, he may spend a life-time without ever becoming conscious that he has common interests with his neighbors. But the Russian can not do this:

"Amongst the families composing a Russian Village such a state of isolation is impossible. The Heads of Households must often meet together and consult in the Village Assembly, and their daily occupations must be influenced by the Communal decrees. They can not begin to mow the hay, or plow the fallow field, until the Village Assembly has passed a resolution on the subject. If a peasant becomes a drunkard, or takes some equally efficient means to become insolvent, every family in the village has a right to complain, not merely in the interests of public morality, but from selfish motives, because all the families are collectively responsible for his taxes. For the same reason no peasant can permanently leave the village without the consent of the Commune, and this consent will not be granted until the applicant gives satisfactory security for the fulfillment of all his actual and future liabilities. If a peasant wishes to go away for a short time in order to work elsewhere, he must obtain a written permission, which serves him as a passport during his absence; and he may be recalled at any moment by a Communal decree."

The general theory of the Commune is, that the land belongs to the Commune, and the men belong to the Commune. The Commune therefore controls its own members, being responsible to the general Government only in the way of taxes; and so long as these are regularly paid, the internal machinery of the Commune is not disturbed from the outside. This makes each village a little local center of self-government, sustaining something the same relation to the general Government that one of our States holds to the administration at Washington. The census lists of the villages are revised from time to time by the Government, in order to afford a correct basis for the apportionment of taxes. Before the abolition of serfdom the taxes were collected by the landed proprietor, who alone was responsible to the general Government; but now the Commune stands in the place of the proprietor, and deals with the Government in its collective capacity only.

The Commune being taxed according to the number of its members, the next thing is to adjust the land among the members in such a way that each shall be able to support his family, and furnish his share of the public fund. This distribution is done by each Commune according to its own needs; and when from any cause the existing division of lands is unequal, a redistribution is made. The period between each new distribution varies considerably in different localities; but it is thought that, taking the whole country together, the average distribution is made once in ten to fifteen years. A vote of the adult villagers decides when a distribution is necessary, and care is taken not to do injustice to those who have enriched a piece of land by their own labor, by giving it to another, although in all such cases private interest is made to give way to that of the Commune.

The government of the Commune is thoroughly democratic—Mr. Wallace styles it Constitutional. All measures must be ratified by the village assembly, which consists of the Heads of the village Households, and is presided over by the village elder. The only law which

governs the transactions of these assemblies is, the custom of the village, and this is alike in hardly any two instances. The meetings are informal, and not much encumbered by Parliamentary etiquette. We quote:

"The simple procedure, or rather the absence of all formal procedure, at the Assemblies, illustrates admirably the essentially practical character of the institution. The meetings are held in the open air, because in the village there is no building—except the church, which can be used only for religious purposes—large enough to contain all the members; and they almost always take place on Sundays or holidays, when the peasants have plenty of leisure. Any open space, where there is sufficient room and little mud, serves as a Forum. The discussions are occasionally very animated, but there is rarely any attempt at speech-making. If any young member should show an inclination to indulge in oratory, he is sure to be unceremoniously interrupted by some of the older members, who have never any sympathy with fine talking. The whole assemblage has the appearance of a crowd of people who have accidentally come together, and are discussing in little groups subjects of local interest. Gradually some one group, containing two or three peasants who have more moral influence than their fellows, attracts the others, and the discussion becomes general. Two or more peasants may speak at a time, and interrupt each other freely—using plain, unvarnished language, not at all parliamentary—and the discussion may become for a few moments a confused, unintelligible noise, 'a din to fright a monster's ear,' but at the moment when the spectator imagines that the consultation is about to be transformed into a promiscuous fight, the tumult spontaneously subsides.

* * * * *

"Theoretically speaking, the village Parliament has a Speaker, in the person of the village Elder. The word Speaker is etymologically less objectionable than the term President, for the person in question never sits down, but mingles in the crowd, like the ordinary members. Objection may be taken to the word on the ground that the Elder speaks less than many other members, but this may likewise be said of the Speaker of the House of Commons. Whatever we may call him, the Elder is officially the principal personage in the crowd, and wears the insignia of office in the form of a small medal suspended from his neck by a thin brass chain. His duties however are extremely light. * * * The Elder comes prominently forward only when it is necessary to take the sense of the meeting. On such occasions he may stand back a little from the crowd and say, 'Well, orthodox, have you decided so?' and the crowd will probably shout, 'Ladno! ladno!' that is to say, 'Agreed! agreed!'

"Communal measures are generally carried in this way by acclamation; but it sometimes happens that there is such a decided diversity of opinion that it is difficult to tell which of the two parties has a majority. In this case the Elder requests the one party to stand to the right and the other to the left. The two groups are then counted, and the minority submits, for no one ever dreams of opposing openly the will of the 'Mir.'"

Women have the right to attend these assemblies, and to speak, but their opinions are not allowed any great weight. The jurisdiction of the assembly is very comprehensive, embracing all the details of village life, such as fixing the time for making hay, the day for commencing the plowing of the fallow land, the admission of new members into the Commune, permission to members to change their residences, erect new buildings, and many similar things which we are accustomed to consider the prerogative of the individual. There is however no means of appealing from its decisions, so that within its recognized limits its power is almost absolute.

PORTRAIT OF ROBERT OWEN.

BY E. T. CRAIG.

THE profile portrait of Robert Owen is an excellent likeness of the founder of Coöperation, and great Social Reformer, so far as the features are concerned. There are, however, one or two points in the outline of the head, in which Mr. Carew, the artist, might have given more prominence. I knew Mr. Owen well, often met him before 1830. He paid us a visit at Ralahine in 1833, traveling some five hundred miles to see if the favorable reports he had heard were justifiable. He took us by surprise, as he had not given us any intimation of his intended visit of inspection. He was highly gratified by what he saw, and I have given his testimony (except the favorable commendation of Mrs. Craig and myself), in *Coöperative Agriculture*. He said he wished to see us as we were, without preparation. He had to return to London, another five hundred miles, and there were no railways on the route in those coaching days.

I had also several opportunities of seeing him while I was engaged in organizing Lady Noel Byron's Agricultural and Industrial Training-School at Ealing

Grove, near London, and during his visit to Wisbeach, when I was engaged in educational work in Cambridge-shire, so that I knew his profile well.

I had for some time past been accustomed to make special, personal observations on the relations between organization and character, in my inquiry as to the truth of Dr. Gall's discoveries in connection with the functions of the brain. Mr. Owen arrested special attention in this respect. I had, also, in my possession, a cast taken from his head, and Firmness, if not Philoprogenitiveness, was more prominently indicated than in the otherwise admirable photograph in the medallion profile.

Mr. Robert Dale Owen says that Adhesiveness, Benevolence, Hope, Self-Esteem, and his large Firmness were the predominating sentiments that "chiefly governed his life and shaped his destiny."

An amusing illustration of mistaken identity is given by Mr. Owen, arising out of the great resemblance he bore to Lord Brougham, both in face and person, so that one was frequently mistaken for the other. A year or two after Henry Brougham became Lord Chancellor, Mr. Owen, passing through Macclesfield in the mail-coach, was accosted, while it stopped there, by a gentleman who said he was glad to see his Lordship again so soon. Mr. Owen, suspecting the mistake, protested that he was not Lord Brougham; but the gentleman was incredulous, because he could believe his own eyes, and said, "You wish to travel incognito; but you forget that I had the honor of dining with your Lordship three weeks ago." The arrival of the noted lawyer was soon made known, a crowd collected; and when the coach started again, they gave three hearty cheers for Lord Brougham, the people's friend.

If Mr. Owen had one feature more prominent than another in his character, it was his indomitable firmness and perseverance in defiance of what seemed overwhelming opposition. His moral courage was a very marked element of his character. He went out, as he said, "with his life in his hands." I have seen him rudely attacked and brutally assailed in halls engaged for him to give an exposition of his views for the amelioration of the condition of the working classes. He, at all times, endured opposition with the greatest calmness and the philosophic charity characteristic of his teachings and practice. Mr. Owen's courage, firmness and benevolence effected an important change in public opinion, and the liberality and freedom of discussion in the present day owe much to the labors of the Social Reformer and his disciples during the early portion of the present century. Their zeal was greater than their power, but society has gained by their efforts for the amelioration of the condition of the people, and a day may come when the halls and homes devoted to Coöperation and Social life will be decorated with the statues, busts, portraits or photographs of the men who have nobly pioneered the way and fought the battle of life and social progress.

Art is long and life is fleeting.

By surrounding the walls with faithful portraits of those who have done good service in the cause of human progress we shall recall their teachings and their examples to the young, and thereby help to carry onward to succeeding generations the good work so well begun.

A correct transcript—a dual portrait—a profile and front view, or a cast from the head of any one well-known, is to me as interesting as if their life-story were epitomized and condensed into a single page. Dr. Gall's great discovery is not yet appreciated, because it is not understood. Special capabilities, power, impulse, passion, and conscientious devotedness, have each their special instruments for their manifestation; and when these signs are available to the intelligence of the leaders of Socialism, the path of the future will become more certain and pleasant, while the doubts and failures of the past will vanish like morning mists before the glorious light of the sun at the meridian.

A knowledge of the relations between organization, capacity and character, when taught and made familiar to the people, will give practical suggestions for the improvement of mankind, and indicate a brilliant pathway for the future of civilization and social progress. Heritage and training lie at the foundation of the evolution of higher developments of humanity. Parentage is the boundary line of dullness as of genius. Paupers breed paupers, and the criminal classes repeat themselves in their offspring. A knowledge of this law, when taught in our schools, will revolutionize the world in relation to the health, vital force and mental characteristics of succeeding generations in associated homes and intelligent Communities.

London, England.

HORACE GREELEY'S OPINION.—"In Coöperation each person would learn to advance his own prosperity, by combining his efforts with those of his neighbors. He would perceive that the common wants of a hundred may be supplied by a combined effort at less than half the cost of satisfying them when each is provided for alone. He would grow year by year into a clearer and firmer conviction that shortsighted selfishness is the germ of half the evils that afflict the human race, and that the true and sure way to a bounteous satisfaction of the wants of each is a generous and thoughtful consideration of the needs of all."

AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 16, 1877.

We have this week received the first number of the *Co-operative News* published at Charlottetown, Prince Edward's Island. The people of that place are organizing a "Farmers' and Mechanics' Coöperative Association" under an Act of Incorporation already obtained. The capital stock will be divided into fifteen hundred shares at ten dollars each. When a sufficient number of shares have been sold, a coöperative store will be opened and managed on the plan which has proved so successful in England. The projectors are enthusiastic, and we hope they will realize all the possible economies of the system. If they continue to publish their experiences it will help to educate others and inspire them with similar coöperative purposes.

A NEW FEATURE IN POLITICS.

JUDGE WILLIAM HENRY WEST is the Republican nominee for governor of Ohio. In his speech accepting the nomination, he made the following remarks concerning the labor question:

"I would arrange and fix a minimum of prices for all who labor in the mines and upon the railroads, and then require that of all the net receipts and proceeds of the capital invested, the laborer, at the end of the year, should, in addition to his fixed compensation, receive a certain per cent. of the profits." And further: "If the receipts be sufficient to make a division, we would, in God's name, let the laborer, who is worthy of his hire, share a portion of the profits."

In a subsequent interview with a newspaper reporter, Judge West said:

"These are only personal opinions of my own, for the utterance of which no one is responsible but myself. If I, as the operator of a railway, had the power to apply these suggestions in practice, I should certainly try the experiment, for the laborer is undoubtedly worthy of his hire. All this, however, should be voluntarily arranged, because it is beyond the scope of legislative jurisdiction."

These remarks, taken in connection with the fact that the platform adopted by the Republican convention contained a strong Socialistic plank, are an indication that the time is at hand when new and important Social questions will occupy a large part of the attention of politicians and government. Undoubtedly many men will undertake to discuss such questions who have never given the subject of Socialism any previous thought, and it is to be expected that some foolish propositions will be made; but the fact that the relations of capital and labor, of the rich and poor, are forcing themselves into such public notice, is a hopeful sign. If the crust of aristocratic conservatism can be broken through so as to allow of a general discussion of social affairs, we may look for some marked improvements in the relations now existing in society. It begins to look as if the discussion could not be delayed much longer.

METHODS OF DEVELOPMENT.

CLARENCE KING, the geologist so long and favorably known by his connection with the United States Coast Survey, attempts to prove (see an article in last week's issue, "Survival of the Most Plastic"), that in the development of the earth's crust cataclysmic and catastrophic agencies have been concerned, as well as the ordinary agencies working with uniform rate and power. However this may be, whether, for instance, the wonders of the cordillera system, its mighty folds and marvelous cañons, were produced by the moderate agencies now seen at work around us, during periods of time inconceivable for duration, or were the result of forces incomparable in power with any thing now seen, and operating simultaneously over vast areas—we are persuaded that the development of society has been subject to these two classes of agencies; that the uniform agencies, corresponding to air, water, frost, the tides, vegetation, etc., in geologic action, which have

been unceasing in their operation upon the conditions of mankind, have been supplemented by other agencies, corresponding to the telluric forces which Mr. King shows have played such an important part in the plications, corrugations and upheavals of the Western part of the American continent. We should say that these mighty forces have burst in upon men suddenly, and with resistless power, from the world above, as the volcanic fires have burst forth from time to time from the bowels of the earth, and in short periods effected changes in the earth's crust which would have occupied the common agencies, working under the laws of uniformity, immeasurable periods. What are enthusiasms, revivals, and inspirations which suddenly take possession of thousands, or even include nations in their sweep, but cataclysmic agencies of this kind? They sometimes produce in a few years results that would in the ordinary progress of things require centuries. Witness the abolition of slavery in the United States. It is less than half a century since Garrison began the crusade which ended in giving liberty to every citizen irrespective of color. We criticize the Uniformitarians, not because they make so much account of the ordinary agencies of development and progress, but because they make no account of the other class. "Before there arise," says Herbert Spencer, "in human nature and human institutions changes having that permanence which makes them an acquired inheritance for the human race, there must go innumerable recurrences of the thoughts and feelings and actions conducive to such changes. The process can not be abridged, and must be gone through with due patience." We contend that there is quite as much reason for believing that great transformations in character may be effected in short spaces of time, as that great geologic changes have been produced in limited periods. This view requires, to be sure, some conception of an invisible world; but so does geology in its way. We will have "due patience" with the slow processes and respect them, but we will also believe in the possibility of a nation's birth in a day, and respect the agencies which can effect it. The true reformer is both a Uniformitarian and a Catastrophist.

THE BRIGHTER SIDE.

Is man better or worse than he seems? an animal to be feared and caged, or a being to be loved and trusted? If we give up the attention to seeing only the evil that is in him, our feelings will often say to us,

"No forest, cave, or savage den,
Holds more pernicious beasts than men."

Or we can dwell on that which is noble and true, self-sacrificing and tender in human nature, until our hearts become warmed with

"Generous trust in human kind."

Which is the wiser and truer view? Civilization assumes that man has infinite capacity for improvement in all directions, and that his love of truth and order is predominant. Despite the conspicuousness of evil, the hope constantly grows brighter in the light of civilization, that good is the stronger; that it has possession of the central citadel of the human heart, and that evil is superficial and will finally be eliminated, in this world or the next. Religion and science, like two great millstones, are grinding away at moral and material evil, constantly; and the power that is running them is the love of truth and righteousness, which has its source deep in the heart of humanity.

The great obstructing, dead wall that confronts and chills all efforts in seeking improved conditions, especially of social relations, is lack of faith in human nature; or, to bring it closer home, man's lack of faith in himself—*myself, yourself*. To make a personal application of this question—are you and I better than we seem? brings the matter home, and enables us to realize how it feels to be confronted by the almost universal moral maxim, "Man is wholly and hopelessly selfish." Superficially, man is an egotistical, selfish, quarrelsome animal; but deep within is another, spiritual nature, where springs the pure water from the great fountain and river of life. There we find love, unselfishness, Communism.

Communism is a voluntary thing, not forced; a passion of the inner man, as pride and strife are of the outer man. The struggle of civilization has been twofold; restraint of the evil in man's material nature; development and culture of the good in his inner, spiritual nature. This last is the Socialist's principal field of labor. It is his work to take man at his best; to sink a shaft deep into the unselfish heart of humanity, that, like an artesian well, shall give a spontaneous flow of those sentiments and graces that go to harmonize and unite all classes. And he who is most successful in de-

veloping the latent virtues of human nature, who incites in the hearts of men courage and faith so that they can conquer the evil, and be something besides selfish, passionate animals, and thus make possible improved conditions of all kinds, is the wise leader and truly great man. To keep the attention from being absorbed by evil, and our faith clear in the supremacy of good, in a time of disorder and violence like that through which the country has just passed, is a difficult, heroic thing to do. Nevertheless, in doing it we are only in league with the deepest forces concerned in man's destiny. The storm-cloud has passed by—the lawlessness is disappearing before the influence of that public opinion that springs from the innate good sense of the people. Wholesome thought and discussion has begun that already promises to bring about improved relations and increase mutual respect all around. In this, as in that greater conflict between the North and South, friendship takes the place of enmity and both parties unite in seeking a common interest. "Coöperation fails because human nature is not yet fit for it," says one writer, and then goes on to give an interesting account of a case of successful Coöperation. Human nature then is capable of that degree of refinement, and in some instances "fit" for it. As the *SOCIALIST* has said, "If our eyes were truly open we would have to confess that we live in an age of Communism, and that selfishness, however conspicuous, is circumscribed with permanent and narrowing limitations!" Communism is working secretly, like leaven in the heart of humanity. It puts humanity on trial for the good that is in it, not the evil, and would convict man of righteousness and place him in paradise instead of a prison.

E. H. H.

AN INFIRMARY FOR THE SOUL.

I HAD a dream in which methought I was walking through a beautiful valley with my mind unburdened by any thoughts save those of the calm enjoyment of natural things. If I passed any of the habitations of men I was not aware of them, till, on a sudden, my attention was strongly attracted by a group of noble buildings which seemed to be in the very center of the valley. They were surrounded by beautiful lawns and parks, and the cheerful hum of industry arose from large and airy work-shops which were contiguous to the dwellings.

"What can those buildings be?" I mused, and my dream (as dreams often do), straightway furnished me with an attendant who answered with peculiar gentleness and courtesy:

"Those are the buildings of a very celebrated infirmary. There is no malady which those who dwell there have not skill to cure, and they have healed many most grievous disorders."

As he spoke I was filled with an irresistible desire to approach the buildings, and I said, with an impatience which I could not conceal,

"Let us draw near; I would fain like to enter this infirmary and see what manner of cures are wrought there. One would scarcely suppose that so uncomely a thing as sickness could mar such beautiful surroundings."

My attendant said nothing, but led me through flower-gardens and grass-plots, toward the buildings, while I prepared myself to see the signs of disease and pain. But as we traversed the grounds and entered the stately edifice, I was surprised to see in those we met only the indications of robust health and unusual well-being. There was a sound of music and laughter in the halls, and the hum of the work-shops could still be distinguished.

"Surely," I said at last, as my attendant made no comment, "surely, these people whom we see can not be treated for any disease. I never saw men and women who seemed more healthy and cheerful, or who were apparently sounder in mind. You must be mistaken in the character of this place."

"Nay," said my attendant, "it is as I have told you, an infirmary, and these people whom you see are undergoing treatment for the most woful diseases that afflict mankind. If you doubt it, you may ask them."

"Pray, sir," I said to a large man, whose strength seemed like that of a fortress, "what malady can you be troubled with? I never saw a more powerful man or one that seemed to need the aid of a physician less."

"Ah," replied the man with a mild look in his eyes, "you have touched upon the very nature of my disorder, and the one of which I hope to be cured in this place. It is true that I am exceptionally large and strong, and have no need of the help of any man so far as my body is concerned, and for that very reason I am afflicted with a pride of the natural life and a reliance

on physical strength which would prevent my cultivating more valuable and enduring qualities. Without the fruits of the spirit—meekness, gentleness, patience, temperance—what is my showy strength but 'gilded loam or painted clay?' But happily the physicians tell me that I am improving, and have gained much in humility and depth of spiritual life, so that I look forward to a complete cure."

This, so novel and unexpected an answer to my query, filled me with such strange interest that I turned quickly to a smaller man to see what he would say.

"Sir," I said, "I can not wonder that you should like to stay in so delightful a place, but what, if I may inquire, is the nature of the ill which afflicts you, and for which you are undergoing treatment?"

"When I came here," replied the man, "I had a complication of disorders, but the most serious, and that from which all the rest sprung, was selfishness. I thought only of myself, and all my aims were narrowed down to my own grasping, egotistical pursuits. My course of treatment here has sometimes seemed severe, but I rejoice in the assurance of my fellow-patients and physicians that I have greatly improved, that I have learned to consider others before myself, and that I have the promise of a complete cure."

"Ah," I said, "I never heard of an infirmary for the cure of such evils before, and yet," I continued musingly to myself, "they are real and dreadful."

"Dreadful," echoed the man with some quickness, "they are the sources of all human misery. Isolation, desolation, cold, hunger, nakedness and sickness are their progeny. They must be displaced by the unselfish brotherhood of all who love truth better than self, and it is for that purpose that such an infirmary has been established."

"But," said I, "you speak of your course of treatment as having been severe. Pray tell me something of the nature of it."

"Well," said the man smiling, "you can doubtless understand that it might take as much fortitude to have your faults told you with candor as it would to undergo a surgical operation. The natural egotism is so great that it shrinks from such salutary revelations."

"Yes," I replied with a slight shudder, "I do not think I could bear them."

"But," continued the man, "when the physicians, who are also patients themselves, point out my faults, I am so assured by my long acquaintance and association with them that they do it from a deep regard for me and a desire for my improvement, that their remarks about my character tend to draw my heart out toward them rather than the reverse. Then, too, they frequently tell me of the possession of good qualities of which I had not been conscious and which increase my self-respect and hope. Is it not infinitely better to know the worst about yourself at once, and then start on a course of self-improvement, than to go on year after year adding to the barnacles which impede you and finally render you a useless and unsightly hulk?"

"What you say interests me greatly," I replied, "and since I have asked you so much, let me ask you what is the matter with that shy, retiring woman with the bloom on her cheeks? I fear that she is too diffident for me to address her."

"Her chief difficulty," responded the man, "is self-depreciation and inherited hypochondriasis. Hers is a very beautiful character, but self-depreciation and melancholy were a sad incubus upon her till she came here. She has been greatly buoyed up by the justification of her physicians, for they consider it as much a part of their medication to point out good, when it exists in their patients, as evil."

"What a strange pharmacopoeia," I mused, as I passed with my attendant out of the building. But at the door he paused and bade me good-bye. "What!" I exclaimed in surprise, "are you too a patient in this infirmary for the soul?"

"Yes," he said smiling, "I came here to be cured of discord and inharmony. I was by nature very blunt and outspoken, wounding the feelings of those around me by my inconsiderate rudeness in speech and actions, and was utterly ignorant of the art of provoking to love. But they tell me that I am convalescent and that I have learned something of that charity which 'suffers long and is kind.'"

He closed the door, and I awoke repeating Macbeth's query:

"Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased;
Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow;
Raze out the written troubles of the brain,
And with some sweet, oblivious antidote
Cleanse the stuffed bosom of that perilous stuff
Which weighs upon the heart?"

G. N. M.

PUZZLES AND PARADOXES.

Binghamton, N. Y., Aug. 5, 1877.

EDITOR AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—The servile war is over; the popular mind returns with a feeling of relief to its normal easy channel of base-ball and miscellaneous sensationalism. The strike was intolerable; not only because it stopped business and pleasure but because it made people think, and threatened to ventilate the whole rottenness of our present system. "The idea of taking this present time when the weather is so red-hot, to bring up for re-adjustment these questions which it is well known can be decided only by force!" That is what the rulers thought. They were right. Men have no business to revolt unless they can do it successfully. When their organization and their aims are perfected—then they will not need to use force. Bayonet decisions don't last forever.

Yes, our first white slave insurrection has been suppressed—or rather has subsided by its own inherent weakness. No one is sorry. The strikers themselves must be glad to be out of the mess. The railroad laborers have probably less reason to "kick" against their condition than many other bodies of laborers or would-be laborers. And I should think that all wage-slaves might by this time see one thing pretty plainly, namely, that the best time to strike is *when wages are highest*. Then is the time to inaugurate a slow and sure, peaceful strike, not for more wages, but for no-wages. Wages are once and always a portion of the fruits of labor such as the employer is pleased, profited and policed to grant; spurn them and demand the whole fruits of your labor, which you will obtain as soon as ever you deserve them by taking the steps sure to obtain and keep them.

The volcano has given its first startling puff. The compressed force still heaves and hisses. The strike was little in itself, but as a symptom it is of immense importance. Something must be done—is in fact being done by the mysterious forces of the great family's growth—forces which no man or men can wholly understand, much less control. The SOCIALIST calls the strike "Competism ending in war." True enough. But competition is war from the start. We all condemn war, especially that combative abortion called riot; we preach the beauties of peace, and I for one believe in peace; but when, pray tell me, have we had peace? Are not pauperized labor and personalized capital permanently at war, even in times of so-called peace? The capitalists rob the laborers right along, year after year, quietly and legally, by virtue of capital and superior cunning; the laborers, when they attempt to turn the tables, lack the *finesse* to do their task only in a rough, destructive way that can not long be tolerated—even by themselves. In point of fact the late lamented strike, even in its worst phases, simply attempted in a blunt, honest way what the anti-strike had been doing for years—forever—in a shrewd, concealed manner. It is useless to try to suppress any cardinal facts; all the same, a revolution too weak in organization and motives to succeed, can not expect the justification of gods or men. I am willing to admit that labor must be capital-ridden until it becomes not merely desirous but able to emancipate itself.

There is a fated drift of development—what direction is it now taking, think ye? Will it work its changes through governmental channels or through other organizations which shall constitute in effect a government within the government which they shall gradually supplant? It is useless to deny that our American Government for some years has not been growing in favor with the common people. Many have come to regard it as in great part a superfluous burden which the people for their sins and ignorance were doomed to carry. "Government" is one of the most equivocal words and facts known; considered as a gang of plunderers it is the laborer's anti-Christ: but Government as association of the whole people, for mutual benefit, is the brightest dream of the lover of his kind. It would seem that the people have somewhat lost faith in their power to build the National Association with this ideal form by "voting." Most begin to have some sort of perception that party-ism is a device for playing off against each other people whose interests are in truth identical. The drift of the popular instinct now is toward a union of all popular or productive interests in self-protection against aristocratic or absorptive interests. What if the people should really capture the Government? I suppose they are inevitably doing this as fast as they make themselves worthy by intelligence, temperance, and general sobriety and justness of motive.

The situation is full of puzzles and paradoxes. Extremes meet in a remarkable manner. The "Centralists," as the *Sun* calls them, demand that the Govern-

ment shall take possession of railroads and telegraphs, and presumably of much other property. This in the interest of order and capital. The workingmen's party go still farther and demand that the Government, in the name of the *whole* people, shall take possession of all "means of labor," as land, machinery, railroads, canals, etc. This, with a view to placing the whole people on a coöperative labor basis and making the Government the general business agency. It is true that there are in these days people of that absurd turn of mind that they think Government had better concern itself more with feeding its members instead of fighting and subduing them. State-craft is going out of vogue; economic knowledge, studying not only how to live, but also to let live, is worth much more.

It is not very rare now to happen upon men who avow themselves Communists. That is, they are not *really* Communists; circumstances and the "hardness of their hearts" forbid; but Communism is their ideal. Twenty years ago one did not hear people call themselves by that name.

"Communism," to the average commercial newspaper, is like a red rag shaken before a turkey-gobbler. "Oh! Oh! the accursed, infamous thing, assassin of property, harbinger of anarchy, chaos come again, and insane capsizing of every thing!" I like this. It is amusing; and besides, it is a good sign. He who would be blessed must first be thoroughly cursed. That which wins the good opinion of the world right from the start will never amount to much. I never yet heard of an orthodox beginning. Every thing is wrong till it succeeds. And nothing seems to be so terribly, offensively wrong, as an attempt to practicalize the Golden Rule—which is all that Communism aims to do.

G. E. TUFTS.

THE BRADLAUGH-BESANT TRIAL,

OR

THE POPULATION QUESTION.

I.

We have received a full and corrected report of this great trial, in a volume of 324 pages, issued by the Free-Thought Publishing Company of London under the supervision of the defendants. It is not likely to be republished in this country, and perhaps few would care to read the entire proceedings of the trial; yet the question of the possibility of healthily controlling population, which it involves and chiefly discusses, is one of intense and growing interest. It lies at the very basis of all the questions of social reform and of the relations of labor and capital now agitating civilized society. The main facts and arguments contained in this report ought to be read and understood on this side of the great brook as well as on the other; and we propose to do our part in bringing them to the attention of the American reading public by reproducing them in the AMERICAN SOCIALIST. We shall endeavor to avoid repetitions and give our readers only what is most important; even this will require a number of articles.

We begin by presenting entire the short preface which Mr. Bradlaugh and Mrs. Besant prepared for the Report, as it states clearly the occasion of the trial and the object they had in view in rendering themselves liable to prosecution for the publication of Dr. Knowlton's "Fruits of Philosophy":

"It is as a contribution to the discussion of the Population Question that we issue this report of the prosecution against ourselves for publishing Dr. Charles Knowlton's pamphlet, entitled 'Fruits of Philosophy.' Dr. Knowlton's pamphlet, although an able and carefully written essay by a thoughtful and scientific man, is not, of itself, of vital importance; its importance lies in the fact that it is condemned—says Lord Chief Justice Cockburn—because it advocates prudential restraint to population, while also advocating early marriage. It is the advocacy of prudential checks *after* marriage that is now said to be a punishable offense. Many a better book than that of Dr. Knowlton might be written on the same subject to-day, for we have had forty years of scientific improvement since 'Fruits of Philosophy' was penned; until however, the judgment against Knowlton is reversed, no better book can be published, for doctors will not write, and publishers will not sell, a work which may bring them within the walls of a jail. It was for the sake of free discussion that we published the assailed pamphlet when its former seller yielded to the pressure put upon him by the police; it was not so much in defence of this pamphlet, as to make the way possible for others dealing with the same topic, that we risked the penalty which has fallen upon us. The accounts of the trial which have appeared in the daily and weekly papers have brought to the knowledge of thousands a great social question of whose existence they had no idea before this prosecution took place. Once more a cause has triumphed by the fall of its defenders. Once more a new truth has been spread every-where by its persecutors, and

has gained a hearing from the dock that it could never have won from the platform. It had been thought by many that the rights to free discussion had been won by the gallant struggles of the earlier half of the present century; it was never dreamed that Lord Campbell's Act might be strained to include medical and scientific works; its author scouted the possibility of such misuse, and himself limited its object to the seizure of the foul literature of passion and sensuality. By the judgment in this cause every medical bookseller is put in jeopardy, and medical authors must find their own safety in the high price—and consequent restricted circulation—of their works. Ignorance has again become a cardinal virtue, and the tree of knowledge is again guarded by the fiery sword of the law.

"What will be the ultimate issue of the struggle is certain; this battle will end, as every other such battle has ended, in the triumph of a Free Press. There is but one limit to that Freedom, and that is that slander and libel should be easily punishable by the law, so that the pen should not be permitted to vent private malice in assault on private reputation. The discussion of a question of ethics, of social science, of medicine, is an attack on no one; no one's reputation is injured by it; it can have nothing in it of the nature of slander. Such discussion has always been the medium of progress, and the right to it must be won at all hazards."

"CHARLES BRADLAUGH."
"ANNIE BESANT."

The trial was had before a special jury, Lord Chief-Justice Cockburn presiding. The Solicitor-General, Sir Hardinge Giffard, Mr. Douglas Straight and Mr. Mead appeared for the prosecution; Mrs. Besant and Mr. Bradlaugh defended their own cause. To present the side of the prosecution it will be necessary to give the substance of the opening address of the Solicitor-General. He explained that the two defendants were "indicted for having published an obscene libel, which is the form, according to our English jurisprudence, the criminal courts adopt for the purpose of preventing the dissemination of any matter which is calculated to destroy or corrupt the morals of the people," and proceeded to narrate the mode in which the prosecution came before the jury:

"The SOLICITOR-GENERAL:—Now, the circumstances were these: It appears that a Mr. Watts had published (I believe some years ago) a book which he called the 'Fruits of Philosophy; or, the private Companion of Young Married Couples.' Probably, gentlemen, you never heard of it, and, happily, I think, I may say, the world had never heard of it until it was published in Bristol, and became the subject of an indictment there, and attention having been called to it, the defendants appear to have come to the conclusion that the result of that case was unsatisfactory, and they determined to test the question whether persons were not entitled to publish that book (substantially it is the same book, as you will see presently); and, accordingly, they appear, having published a new edition, to have sent a memorandum to the magistrates and to the police in these words:—'From the Freethought Publishing Company, 28 Stonecutter Street, Farringdon Street, E. C. All orders to be addressed to the manager, Mr. W. J. Ramsey. March 23rd, 1877. To Mr. Martin, Guildhall.—Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant will attend to the above address to-morrow from four to five o'clock, to sell the inclosed pamphlet.' That is the pamphlet which is the subject-matter of this indictment. Then they sent a similar notice to Detective-Sergeant William Green:—'Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant will attend at the above address to-morrow, from four to five, to sell the inclosed pamphlet; and this notice is sent to officially to report to the superior person from whom you received instructions to prosecute in the case.' Well, gentlemen, upon receiving this notice they proceeded to the place in question, without receiving any instructions; but the authorities subsequently confirmed their action in the matter. They proceeded to the place, and purchased some of these pamphlets; and the result is, that the question which, in truth, has to be decided by this indictment, is, whether or not the defendants were entitled to sell for sixpence this book, which I hold in my hand, to every person to whom it may occur that it is interesting, or amusing, or exciting to the morbid appetite, to purchase a book of this description. Upon the question (it sometimes is the question, of course, upon which matters of this sort turn) whether there has been any publication of the pamphlet, no question will arise here. The publication is of an absolute character. The sum sought to be charged is sixpence; and the only question, therefore, which will remain for your decision will be, whether or not this is an obscene book."

"The LORD CHIEF JUSTICE:—Is that quite so? Is it not that the language, if it can not be called obscene, is such that its effect might be to vitiate public morals; and although the work in point of language may be perfectly free from any objection, still I think that then, in point of law, it would be a libel. A work may not be obscene, it may not be prurient, it may not be open to objection in that respect, and yet it might tend to subvert public morality. I do not know that by public morality we mean only those rules which regulate the intercourse of the sexes. It involves

every rule of human conduct. If a person, in a book, were to teach a thing recommended in certain cases, assassination, you could not characterize that as an obscene book. It would yet be open to the objection that the book tended to subvert public morals in the other acceptation."

"The SOLICITOR-GENERAL:—I was using the word obscene rather in the sense in which your lordship has used it—in the sense of depraving morals; and in the case which I shall have to quote from, your lordship there uses the words: 'Not using the word 'obscene' in the sense of involving any coarseness or vulgarity of expression, but as something which is calculated to destroy the morals,' in giving judgment in the case of the Queen v. Hicklin, vol. 3 of the Reports of the Queen's Bench, page 371. That is the passage from which I am about to quote. The report commences at page 360, and your lordship in giving judgment, said: 'I think the test of obscenity is this: whether the tendency of the matter charged is to deprave and corrupt those whose minds are open to such immoral influences, and into whose hands it is likely to fall.' * * * Now, gentlemen, the book in question, as you will see, is a book comprehending in the edition with which we are dealing, forty-seven pages; and that which had been described in the original book from which it is taken and which gave rise to this prosecution, as 'the private companion of young married couples,' becomes in the edition to which your attention will be called an 'Essay on the Population Question,' and the nature of the book—before I read any part of it, appears to me to be this—the writer contends that it is not an improper thing to gratify any animal passion which human nature may be susceptible of, that the gratification of the animal instincts in the commerce of the sexes produces in a great many instances an overcrowded population. The writer appears to contend that for the cure of that evil, and for the purpose of enabling persons to gratify their passions without that evil being so great as it is, and may be, in the world, it is lawful and proper, and expedient, to disseminate among the people a minute description of physical means whereby the population may be checked, that the commerce of the sexes may be permitted to continue, and that by various means which he minutely describes, the result of conception, and the consequent birth of children, may be averted."

"The LORD CHIEF JUSTICE:—I think it is hardly right to say that, unless you introduce another element into the argument, which is that the restrictions which another celebrated writer on population pressed as the means of correcting the evil of excessive population was the restriction upon marriage, and the author of this book says: 'That is wrong. Marriage—and marriage at an early stage of life—should be encouraged;' but he argues that, as the effect of early marriage is to increase population, so those artificial means of preventing population should be resorted to, but you must not leave out one element of his reasoning, that he insists upon marriage, and does not profess to suggest these means of checking population as the reason why marriage may be dispensed with."

(To be continued.)

THE HEART OF THE EASTERN QUESTION.

THE heart of the Russo-Turkish war is the Eastern Question—What shall be done with the Turkish Empire? This question has long perplexed Europe. But the heart of the Eastern Question itself, What is that? The Turk possesses the fair and historic lands of ancient empire and civilization—Asia Minor, the cradle of Greece and Grecian culture; Egypt, fertile mother of civilization and art; the valley of the "Great River," Euphrates, where Nineveh, Babylon and Bagdad rose and ruled and fell; Syria with its far-famed capital Damascus, oldest of the world's cities; Arabia, land of Mohammed and the Saracen. It also possesses what is more important than all these in its historic and predestined aspects, the central, "goodly land"—Palestine—which was given by the express covenant of God to Abraham and his seed forever. May it not be that the heart of the Eastern Question, covered up hitherto by more obvious interests, is the Hebrew Question—What shall be done with Palestine and Jerusalem?

"Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled." This was one part of the great prophecy of Christ, of which the first part—concerning the destruction of Jerusalem—was literally fulfilled. May we not with surety expect the other part will have an equally literal fulfillment? The ages have seen it sweeping on. The Gentiles came, they have trodden the city in the dust, and ridden over it with the fury of conquest for 1800 years. The special power, after Rome, to which the custody of Jerusalem and the Land of Israel has been given, is the Mohammedan power, first under the Saracen, then under the Turk. For almost the complete prophetic period of 1260 years this power has held possession. Will it be driven out by any other power than one which will guarantee the possession of the Home of Israel to the People of Israel? The logic of Eastern history seems

to be against any other solution. The Crusades, supported by the sympathy and power of Western Europe and the Roman Church, failed to wrest Palestine from the Saracen. All subsequent Russian and European crusades against the Turks have failed to throw them back into the Asian abyss. Will Russia do it now? She has entered on a great crusade, ostensibly in the interests of the Greek Christian subjects of the Porte. But her ambition is great enough for more than this. It wants Constantinople and the Dardanelles; it wants the Mountains of Armenia and the Euphrates Valley; it would gladly "overflow and pass over" till it planted "its tabernacle in the glorious holy mountain," and the "Ethiopians were at its steps." More than any other nation of Europe she has inherited the Roman lust of universal empire. She has her grasp on all Central Asia; she has crowded in the northern borders of China; she has captured Saghalien from Japan; she relinquished her hold on the Western continent only because her possessions were remote and unprofitable, and of no strategic value. Toward the East her career has been very successful. Whether she will be equally successful in her present movement toward the South, will probably depend on her attitude toward the Hebrew Question—whether she will do greater justice toward the Jews and to their immemorial rights in Palestine, than the Turk has done.

Present facts, as bearing on this point, are rather against Russia. It has long been notorious that in that country the Jews are more oppressed and persecuted than in any other country of Europe, and that the Russian Government and the Russian Greek Church are directly responsible for this state of things. Only a few weeks ago the *Pall Mall Gazette* published a statement, which is characterized as moderate and truthful, from an eminent Jewish gentleman, about the Russian oppression of the Jews. In it the writer says:

"All the laws relating to the Israelites which are in force in Russia have been collated by the learned M. Levanda, and published in a single volume embracing the period from the reign of the Czar Alexis Michaelovitch (1649) to the year 1873.

"The exceptional measures taken in regard to the Jews in Russia, and having legal force, are the source of all those acts of intolerance and of inhuman violence which make the Jew in Russia feel that he is indeed, the most unfortunate of his race.

"Residence in Russian towns is prohibited to Jews—that is the rule; and it prevails together with a whole series of exceptions which in no way guarantee the favored individuals, while at the same time this series of exceptions serves to expose the Jews to molestation by that swarm of rapacious and unscrupulous functionaries who abound in all states where government is so completely centralized as in Russia.

"Owing to these special and general measures, which compose the legislation by which the Jews in Russia are controlled, the Israelite Russian subject is entirely at the mercy of the will and pleasure of the police authorities. His property, his peace, and even his honor and that of his family, are of no consideration.

"The Jew in any locality other than that of which he is a native is pursued and hunted down.

"The Russian laws which are applied to the Jews give rise to that feeling of unjustifiable animosity toward them which has disappeared from every civilized country, but which finds in Russia an encouragement characteristic of the Middle Ages. Witness a recent work by a Russian priest, named Hyppolite Lutoslauski, published in Moscow in 1876, for which the author has been honored with a decoration. This work is written with the object of proving that Christian blood is actually used by Israelites in the practice of their religious rites. From beginning to end it is penetrated with a hatred toward the Jewish nation which can not but spring from ignorance, superstition and envy, and from the most reprehensible of motives. All that is held dear and sacred by the Israelite is herein held up to obloquy. * * * This work of the priest Lutoslauski expresses that repugnant fury of the Middle Ages which is now an anachronism in Europe, while it is an expression also of the prevailing opinion in regard to Jews, of the Russian Government, and of Russian society.

"It may, in short, be said that in the eye of the law, and in fact, the Jew in Russia is, by his birth alone, treated as an outcast."

From a government which shelters and tolerates such oppression as this it is evident that the Jewish interest in Palestine has nothing to hope. It is this oppression which throws the sympathy and interest of the Jews throughout the world on the side of the Turk. For this the Jewish bankers of Europe refuse to negotiate the Russian loans. Bad as Turkish rule has been, the Jew under it is in favorable conditions compared with his Russian brethren. The Mohammedan power has ever been more merciful and tolerant toward them than the Greek Church. Under the Saracen Caliphs Jews won high honor as leaders in the intellectual activity

and civilization of the time. Under the Ottomans they have had more tolerant treatment than the members of any other non-Mohammedan faith. Of late years their conditions have been improving. They are now allowed to acquire real estate in Palestine, and in consequence of this a movement is going on of Jewish emigration from Russia to Palestine. The land of Israel, under the protection of the Turk, is beginning to be re-settled and rebuilt by its rightful owners.

One more noteworthy and mighty fact in relation to the Eastern and Hebrew Questions is the position of England. More than any other nation she is the antagonist of Russia in the Asian designs of the latter; more than any other European nation is she interested in the fate of Turkey and the Mohammedan power; and more than any other nation is she controlled by Jewish sympathies and Jewish interests. In fact her position toward the Jews is almost entirely the reverse of what it was in the days of the Crusades; while Russia is about where England was in the time described in "Ivanhoe." The novel, "Daniel Deronda," shows the drift of feeling toward the Jews among England's best thinkers. The head of her government, next the Queen, is the Premier, Lord Beaconsfield, a full-blooded Jew by birth. No solution of the Turkish Question can be made that does not involve England and the interests she represents. And no issue of the conflict that would place Constantinople and Asiatic Turkey in the control of Russia is likely ever to be tolerated by England. Nor is she likely to consent, while her present Government continues, to any state of affairs in the East which will make the conditions of the Jews less tolerable than they now are. Perhaps under her influence and protection they will regain their old home. She seems Providentially set to look out—not merely for her own interests, but—for the interests of the Great Powers of the Hebrew Covenant.

T. L. P.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[The following, though a private letter, is so wide-awake that we want some of our outside friends to see it.—ED. AMERICAN SOCIALIST:]

Aug. 11, 1877.

EDITOR AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—I read the last No. of the SOCIALIST, Aug. 9, before I went to bed last night, and it has decided me to immediate action in soliciting subscriptions for it, commencing this morning with the fresco painter, one of the men repairing our house. I am now starting into Boston, where I hope to find others. I would like to have specimen numbers of this issue to leave with parties whom I would see. I am taking my own with me now, and will give it to my fresco painter for his Sunday reading to-night. I wish you could have the Heliotype process for illustrations for your paper.

If I had money you should see the color of it in the cause; but as I have not, I will try my best with leg and tongue. Any suggestions will be gratefully received.

Yours in haste,

A New York workingman's paper, called *Labor*, says: "The AMERICAN SOCIALIST, Oneida, N. Y., is the handsomest paper in the State."

In Russia the serf, before the emancipation, was the absolute property of his master; if he obtained a piece of land in a Commune the Commune could at any time deprive him of it, and he could neither alienate it nor leave it to his children after his death. When the emancipation took place many of the peasants sold their plots of land, believing that the old communal system would be retained, and that they and their children would continue to be provided for by the Commune as heretofore. The land-owners and their agents did their best to encourage this delusion, and the consequence was that in many cases they bought back the land at nominal prices, while the peasants, after having run through the money which they thus obtained, find that they have to work harder for their living than ever. This state of things has produced a feeling of discontent among the 16,000,000 emancipated serfs of Russia, which may at any moment break out in a terrible agrarian revolution.—*Baltimore Evening Bulletin*.

The curse of England is the obstinate determination of the middle class to make their sons what they call gentlemen. So we are overrun with clergymen without livings; lawyers without briefs; physicians without patients; authors without readers; clerks soliciting employment, who might have thrived and been above the world as bakers, watchmakers, or innkeepers.—*Macaulay's Life and Letters*.

Two or three men and various dogs having been devoured by sharks off Melbourne, Australia, the Government offered a reward for the capture of these fish, and 3,000 were caught in one week; but inasmuch as the reward was at the rate of one shilling a foot, and no reward is given for sharks under two feet, the fishermen threw the "babies" into the sea until they grow worth catching. Some men have been making from \$15 to \$20 a day by shark fishing.

RECEIVED.

GOOD TIMES. An Original Magazine. Vol. 1, No. 1, for August, pp. 16. Price, \$1.00 per year. Single copies, 15 cents. Edited by Mrs. M. B. C. Slade, Fall River, Mass. Published by T. W. Bicknell, 16 Hawley-st., Boston.

CHROMO WALTZ. By Charlie Baker. Chromo on Title Page. Price, 25 cents. Cincinnati, O.: F. W. Helmick, 50 West Fourth-st.

DU COMMUNISME, LIBERATEUR DES PEUPLES ET DE L'INDIVIDU. By Jules Leroux, Corning P. O., Adams Co., Iowa. Price, 15 cents.

ITEMS OF NEWS.

HOME.

Sitting Bull is going to get up and come back.

Donahue, the Erie striker, is still in Ludlow-st jail.

The strike among the silk-weavers at Paterson still continues.

Just hear the politicians making platforms! How they hammer!

The first printing by steam was on the London *Times*, November 29, 1814.

William Cullen Bryant thinks he is too old to write Centennial verses to order.

The President is considering plans for the completion of the Washington Monument.

Gail Hamilton isn't making any good fame for herself by ridiculing civil-service reform.

It was our guns that did it, said the Connecticut folks when they heard of the Turkish victory at Plevna.

The Americans are getting an idea that they can build iron sailing vessels as cheaply as any body in England.

The importers and refiners of sugar expect to suffer heavy losses. The market is overstocked with that staple.

A large standing army is as cheap as a smaller one which you have to trundle around on every little emergency.

Alabama has picked and marketed the first bale of new cotton. It sold for fifteen and a-quarter cents a pound.

The New York banks now hold \$54,200,000 legal-tender notes, against \$60,300,000 last year, and \$73,600,000 in 1875.

The President says he will go up and see the folks in Vermont, but he wants they should make the entertainment cheap.

The new departure of the Ohio Republicans on the railway and labor question does not get much sympathy from the Eastern conservatives.

The New England traffic of the New York Central Railroad is estimated to be sixty per cent. of the through traffic of that great thoroughfare.

There are no less than twenty-four mountain peaks in North Carolina which are higher than Mount Washington, the highest of the White Mountains.

Jennie Collins says there are seventy-five distinct crafts open to women in Boston, while there are not more than ten exclusively controlled by the sterner sex.

The official reports on the Centennial Exhibition will fill twenty large octavo volumes. It will be the duty of patriots to get them all and read them in their families.

The miners of the Lackawanna and Wyoming valleys are busy trying to effect an organization that shall bind the entire labor interest of that region into one solid bundle.

The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad has brought in a bill against the Government for the transportation of the troops which were employed to defend the company's property.

The Georgia Constitutional Convention has repudiated the railroad bonds issued by the Bullock government. Mr. Toombs called that government a usurpation, and the rest took up the cry.

Carl Shurz, who has been accused of taking large sums of money for his stump-speaking, declares that he has never denied that he spoke for money in those years when he was too poor to work for nothing.

The country is waking up to the idea that our rich men are our natural leaders of industry, and that they ought to do a great deal more than settle with the workmen at the end of the week, and pay as they go generally.

A considerable number of the students at Oberlin got through the year without spending over \$150, all told. The standard of scholarship can not be high when the professors have to piece out their inadequate salaries by work out of college.

When New England was composed largely of school-teachers, church members and parsons it was all very well to give her a relative preponderance in the United States Senate. We shall think differently when she gets to be a mere settlement of foreigners.

Susan E. Dickenson who has taken the interests of the hard coal-region to heart, says that "At the amplest computation it is impossible for more than three-fifths" of the mining population "to earn a fair living in the mines, however prosperous the country."

The increment of Dr. Winslow's remains at Salt Lake City was completed in two hours and thirty-five minutes. The body weighed 126 pounds, and the weight of the ashes, in which there were a few pieces of calcined bone, was four pounds and eleven and a-half ounces.

The Rev. Dr. Cuyler of Brooklyn was more than surprised to find that Scotch Presbyterianism had a strong whisky basis. Don't believe we shall have much Pan-Presbyterianism till those old fellows can agree on some milder basis, say green tea and strong coffee.

Sara Jewett, whose "Deep Haven" is just coming into notice, thus inquires of a pink pond lily:

"What strange, new joy has reached thy heart of gold,

Tinging thy petals with a rosy light,

Causing thy waxen leaves as they unfold,

With ecstasy to blush away their light?"

We haven't learned what answer the posey made.

The Universities of Tennessee and South Carolina have quietly dumped all their northern professors, and made arrangements for getting along without them. If they had been crowded out by superior Southern culture it would have been an encouraging sign; but "The potatoes, they grow small over there, over there."

"Our whole system," says the *Nation*, "is based on the

theory that every American citizen is a fully-equipped man, standing squarely on his own feet, and abundantly competent to make his own bargains." And now we have a million of workmen, to say nothing of tramps and vagrants, who are calling for odds and saying that they can not hold their own in the game. They demand help from the Government.

To put down the riotous strikers in Scranton, Pa., the sheriff had to depend on a posse of citizens who in the discharge of their duty fired on the mob and killed several persons. Coroner Mahan of that town, in holding inquests on the dead, has managed to have his jury bring in a verdict of "Guilty of willful murder" against that sheriff's posse, and would have had them all before him and put in jail had it not been for the interference of Gen. Heidenkofer and the Vigilants.

FOREIGN.

The Turks are fortifying Gallipoli.

Gen. Grant arrived at Lake Como on the 8th.

Russia is running in debt at the rate of \$60,000,000 a month.

The Russians are going to winter down in Bulgaria if necessary.

The Hungarians have simmered down, on the Turkish question.

Auerbach has finished a long novel which treats of the socialistic tendencies of the age.

The Mennonites have got to stay in Russia and help fight. The emigration of them had been increasing.

General Dragomiroff's name sounds big enough to scare the Turks. Why don't he begin and drag 'em off?

Achmet, the Pasha who surrendered Nikopolis to the Russians, has surrendered to every thing and committed suicide.

When the Emperors of Austria and Germany were at Ischl the Czar sent them a telegram saying that he liked them as well as ever.

It is estimated that the silk crop of France will be more than three times as great this year as it was last, when it was pretty near a failure.

The Grand Duke Nicholas has got tired of fighting on diplomatic principles. He wants to fight to kill, and it is thought he will now go about the job in that spirit.

Mexico is bestirring herself in respect to her border difficulties with the United States. Gen. Benavides has been sent to the Rio Grande to learn the state of things there from an actual survey of the whole ground.

Another revolution in Hayti. The insurgents are near Port-au-Prince, which had been fired and had been burned for two days. Cause: President Boisron Canal favored the foreign merchants and citizens, it was claimed.

The introduction of sheep into Australia has kept down the grass; that keeps down the fires; that promotes the density of the forests; that increases the rain-fall, and as a consequence of the whole, the country is becoming decidedly more agricultural.

MacMahon is still alive. The Pope isn't dead. The arch enemy of mankind is a goin' around. The cholera morbus is abroad. "Stand the storm." "It won't be long." "I need thee every hour." "Hold the fort." Now "my little soul's gwine to shine, shine, shine."

There are some enthusiastic entomologists in England who are cultivating the Colorado beetle or potato-bug, which they distribute among the elect in small pill-boxes sent by mail. The narrow-minded agriculturists are said to be in a panic lest the insect should get loose among the potato-fields.

Herr Suess, the Professor of Geology at the University of Vienna, has just published a thoroughly scientific work called the "Future of Gold." His startling proposition is "that up to the present time more than half of the quantity of gold which could possibly be extracted from the earth by any means as yet known has already come into the hands of man." Monetize silver then.

Aside from the Rothschilds, who belong to the Orleanist branch of the Conservatives, the Republicans represent the overwhelming financial force of France. The Bonapartists are comparatively poor and reckless. Among the pure Legitimists there are a few—a very few families—of enormous territorial wealth. The Duc de Nyés has some £50,000 a year. The Marquis de Pomereu has over £60,000 a year.

The Russians in Bulgaria are waiting nervously for their reinforcements to come up, and the Turks are waiting for the Russians to attack them in their holes. In the absence of news of active operations we can do no better than give a view of the situation. The territory occupied by the invading army is a long triangle with its narrow base of supplies on the Danube extending from Sistova on the east to Nikopolis on the west. The apex of the triangle is at the Skipka and Trevna passes, which have been held by General Gourkha since his retreat from the direction of Adrianople. The Russian right wing may be said to rest on the Danube, between the rivers Vid and Ister. From thence the line extends south-easterly in front of Plevna, Lovatz and Selvi which are held by the Turks under Osman Pasha; thence easterly in front of Tirnova and Osman Bazar, which last is occupied by the enemy; thence north-easterly in front of Rasgrad, where it cuts the railroad to Rustchuck; and thence north-westerly to Rustchuck itself which is partly invested. Gourkha's army at the Skipka pass communicates with the main army at a point north of Tirnova. The Russian headquarters and center are at Beila, a point convenient for moving upon the Turks in any direction. The Turkish center is still at Shumla, while the whole army is in three separate parts, and not within easy supporting distances of each other. So far as the situation and movement of troops is concerned the Russians appear to have the advantage over the Turks, who every-where front them except in that part which approaches the Balkans. Before the Russians can effectually cross the mountains, draw the enemy out of Shumla and advance on Adrianople, to say nothing of Constantinople, they must get strength to shake off and destroy Osman Pasha, that terrible gad-fly which hangs on their right flank and has already made them so much trouble at Plevna, Lovatz and Selvi, as to quite paralyze them for the present. The army of the Dobrudscha has its head-quarters at Tcher-navoda, while its advance is considerably beyond Trajan's Wall. It holds Magalia, south of Kustendji, on the Black Sea.

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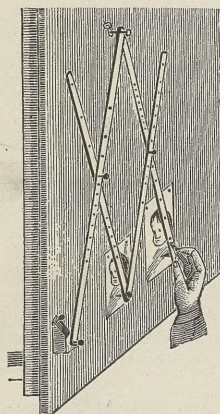
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